



A Comparative Study of the Armenian and the Rwandan Genocides

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.47814/ijssrr.v5i2.177>

Abstract

This paper compares and contrasts the two historic and terrific genocides of the 20th century, namely the Armenian Genocide and the Rwandan Genocide. Although both genocides were committed using different methods and forms of murder, there was a no less terrible picture in terms of atrocities and massacres. Hence, this study is an attempt to interrelate both genocides with an intensive focus on comparative studies, particularly analyzing the causes and aftermath of both genocides focusing on the attitudes of actors involved.

Keywords: *Genocide; Ethnic Cleansing; Violence; Hutu-Tutsi*

Introduction

"Possibly Monsters exist, but they are too few in number to be truly threatening. More menacing are the common men, the functionaries ready to believe and to act without asking questions."

Primo Lev¹

Twentieth-century witnessed many genocides throughout the globe by the hands of leaders and citizens alike. While many world leaders have repeatedly stated that genocide should 'never again' occur, these unjustifiable acts have not failed to exist even today. Among various genocidal events, over one million Armenians who lived in the Ottoman Empire were deported and murdered in 1915, and that was organized by the then Turkish government.² Likewise, in the same century, the whole world experienced the Rwandan genocide that was organized by Juvenal Habyarimana's government against the minority Tutsis in 1994. This study is an attempt to interrelate the two principal genocides of the 20th century, namely the Armenian genocide and the Rwandan genocide, with an intensive focus on comparative studies of genocide. Hence, the paper is divided into two parts while; the first part discusses the historical background and causes of both genocides, the second part deals with the analysis.

¹ Derderian, S. (2008), *Death March: An Armenian Survivor's Memoir of the Genocide of 1915*. Studio City, CA, p. 13.

² Hapereen, M., Kiernan, B. and Zwaan, T. (2012), *The Holocaust and Other Genocides: An Introduction*, Amsterdam, p. 45-70.

Defining Genocide

Although the term ‘genocide’ was first used by Raphael Lemkin in 1933, the concept itself is one of the most contradictory and controversial topics presented across the world. However, the founder of genocide studies, Raphael Lemkin, defines genocide as the destruction of a nation or an ethnic group.³ Moreover, the United Nations uses the following definition to classify acts of genocide:⁴

Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such: Killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

However, genocide is a deliberate, coordinated plan to destroy a group of people, usually members of a certain national, ethnic, or religious group.

Method

Based on the existing literature, this study interrelates the two principal genocides of the 20th century, namely the Armenian genocide and the Rwandan genocide, with an intensive focus on comparative studies of genocide. For this, this paper’s approach is both descriptive and analytical while following qualitative narrative approach based on existing literatures.

Background

The Armenian Genocide

“Whether the Armenians would eliminate the Turks or the Turks would eliminate the Armenians, I really didn’t hesitate for a moment when confronted with this puzzle. I must admit that my Turkish identity won out over my profession. I eventually thought we must destroy them before they could destroy us. If anyone asks me how I as a doctor could commit or support murder, my reply is simple that the Armenians had become dangerous microbes in the body of this country. And therefore, it is a doctor’s duty to kill bacteria?”⁵

Dr Mehmed Reshid, Governor of Diyarbekir during the genocide

Although the 20th century is often called the century of genocides, the Armenian genocide is considered as one of the first genocides of modern history that took place in the early 20th century between the years 1915 to 1918 and from 1920 to 1923.⁶ It was perpetrated by the Ottoman government under the direction of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and resulted in the massacre of the Armenians of eastern Anatolia. Most of the boys and men were killed, while others were deported to the deserts of Syria and Iraq.⁷

³ Lemkin, R. (1946), “Genocide,” American Scholar 15, no. 2, 227-230.

⁴ According to the Article 2, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Dec 9, 1948, Resolution 260 (III) A United Nations General Assembly

⁵ Derderian, S. (2008), Death March: An Armenian Survivor’s Memoir of the Genocide of 1915. Studio City, CA, p. 13.

⁶ Haperen, M., Kiernan, B. and Zwaan, T. (2012), The Holocaust and Other Genocides: An Introduction, Amsterdam, p. 45-70.

⁷ Ibid

During the early 20th century, the ideology of the CUP represented three main streams that were known as a trichotomy, including Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism. Along with that, one of the most radical factions developed a profoundly ethnic Turkish nationalism that was driven by a collective hatred of Armenians.⁸ But there was evidence that the genocide was the result of three important factors such as the loss of the Balkan War and territory from 1912 to 1913, the coup by Young Turks, and the start of the first world war. Mostly the first world war brought disastrous results, and leaders attributed these disasters to Armenian betrayal.⁹ Hence, from early 1915 onwards, the Armenians were used as a scapegoat where Turkish nationalistic propaganda accused the Armenians of treason and called for a boycott of Armenian business, and started spreading horror stories of alleged crimes by Armenian activists.¹⁰ The situation became worst while Armenian newspapers were shut down, key figures were arrested, and persecution started.

Furthermore, this genocide was a continuous process of destruction, with mass executions of the economic, religious, political, and intellectual elites; deportation; forced assimilation; dispossession; state-induced famine that resulted in the beheading of Armenian society. All property and wealth taken away from them and the entire Armenian population had been uprooted by July 1915 and bound for Syrian desert.¹¹ Nonetheless, women and children had to renounce their Christian faith and convert to Islam which was a large-scale attack on Armenian culture. However, on the basis Armenian organization's claim, the genocide caused nearly 1.5 million victims.¹²

The Rwandan Genocide

It is alternatively known as the genocide of the Tutsis, where over 800,000 people, mainly Tutsi Rwandans, were killed in only 100 days in 1994 in a preplanned and state-sponsored genocide.¹³ Particularly, the Hutu-dominated government and others in the political elite launched the genocide due to the economic crisis, civil war, rapid population growth, a struggle for state power, and so on.

If one gets back to history, in the past, Rwanda had been a Belgian colony where the Belgians had favored the Tutsi minority due to their supposed European appearance, and thus, they were the more privileged group. Thereafter, with Belgians support, the Tutsis had controlled Rwanda, and between 1959 and 1962, the majority Hutu had rebelled, successfully overthrowing the Tutsi government.¹⁴ Hence, the minority Tutsis had been treated poorly. Furthermore, with historical causes, the economy went into a free fall at the end of the 1980s where poor harvest led to food shortages and hence the combination of hunger, the growing trade deficit, increased the rate of corruption, personal enrichment among the elites led to social unrest and created the ground for the genocide.¹⁵ In addition, in 1990, a rebel group composed mainly of Tutsis based in neighboring Uganda invaded northern Rwanda. Likewise, the civil war that followed led to increased ethnic tensions within Rwanda, and over the next four years, the Hutu leadership used propaganda to assert that the Tutsis were planning to turn the Hutus into slaves, asked for resistance. Thereby, the main triggers of the genocide itself included the outbreak of civil war, multiple interventions from Western nations in the politics of Rwanda, and the shooting down of the Rwandan President's plane in April 1994.¹⁶ With the assassination of the then president, the Hutu community

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Mayersen, D. (2016), *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined*, Berghahn Books.

¹⁰ Hapere, M., Kiernan, B. and Zwaan, T. (2012), *The Holocaust and Other Genocides: An Introduction*, Amsterdam, p. 45-70.

¹¹ Matosyan, T. (2005), *The Armenian Genocide and Comparative Experience of the Jewish Holocaust*, p. 106.

¹² Kevorkian, R. (2011), *The Armenian Genocide, a complete history*, NY, 2011, p. 220-221.

¹³ Thompson, A. (2007), *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*, International Development Research Centre, Pluto Press, London.

¹⁴ Magnarella, J., P. (2005), *The Background and Causes of the Genocide in Rwanda*, *Journal of International Criminal Justice*.

¹⁵ Hapere, M., Kiernan, B. and Zwaan, T. (2012), *The Holocaust and Other Genocides: An Introduction*, Amsterdam, p. 97-120.

¹⁶ Ibid

claimed, and evidence indicates the fact that the Tutsi rebels were responsible for who had shot the president's plane down. Consequently, the Hutu immediately pursued a 'final solution'. Thereafter, over the next three months, the fastest genocide in recorded history took place, with over a half-million Tutsi killed, some three-quarters of their population in Rwanda.¹⁷ It occurred due to the presence of extremist ethnic Hutu regime in office in 1994 appeared and believed that the only way it could hang on to power was by wiping out the ethnic Tutsis completely.¹⁸

However, throughout history, there has certainly been a lack of freedom. At one point, the Hutu are oppressed; at another point, the Tutsi refugees aren't free to live in their own country and were banned from reentering the country in the 1970s-80s. It was the decision by some Rwandan Tutsi refugees to invade Rwanda that triggered the set of events that led to the genocide. So, there is a relationship between lack of freedom and that genocide. There was an increasing lack of international actors' effective measures to maintain peace in the region, also another reason.¹⁹

Explanations of both genocides with Stanton's ten stage model:²⁰

Classification Stage: While ethnic differences between the Tutsi and Hutu tribes were the reason for the exacerbated killings in Rwanda, in the case of Armenia, it was perpetrated by the Ottoman government and resulted in the mass murder of the Armenians of the eastern Anatolia region. Immediately after the First World War, there was a division created in the Armenian society.²¹

Symbolization Stage: The Turks immediately described Armenians and other targeted minority groups as the internal enemies of the nation, at the same time characterizing them as unreliable and prone to violence in order to induce fear and mistrust among their neighbors. In the Rwandan case, Tutsis were presented as a threat to the Hutu people.

Dehumanization Stage: Evidence increasingly suggests, Hutu rebels not only sparked off the genocide by bombing down the plane carrying former president Habyarimana but also blamed it on the liberation fighters of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF). Immediately after that massacre took place, in the case of Armenia, after the catastrophic defeat in war, accused the Armenians of treason and called for a boycott of Armenian business, and the situation became worst while Armenian newspapers were shut down, key figures were arrested, and persecution started.²²

Organizational Stage: The genocide ideology that was characteristic among the 'Interahamwe' militia prior to the Rwandan genocide is the same ideology that harbors the minds of the 'Teshkilata

¹⁷ Dadrian, V. (2004) Patterns of twentieth-century genocides: the Armenian, Jewish, and Rwandan cases, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:4, 487-522.

¹⁸ Magnarella, J. P. (2005), *The Background and Causes of the Genocide in Rwanda*, *Journal of International Criminal Justice*.

¹⁹ Shaw, M. (2011), "From Comparative to International Genocide Studies: The International Production of Genocide in 20th Century Europe," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 4, 645-668.

²⁰ Stanton, H., G. (1996), "The Eight Stages of Genocide," *Genocide Watch*, accessed October 19, 2020. <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocide/8stagesofgenocide.html>; Stanton, H., G. (2013) "The Ten Stages of Genocide," *Genocide Watch*. <http://www.genocidewatch.org/genocide/tenstagesofgenocide.html>.

²¹ Shaw, M. (2011), "From Comparative to International Genocide Studies: The International Production of Genocide in 20th Century Europe," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 4, 645-668.

²² Burleson, S., J. and Giordano, A. (2016), "Spatiality of the Stages of Genocide: The Armenian Case," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*: Vol. 10: Iss. 3: 39-58.

Mahussen' militia, the group supported by the Ottoman government and responsible for burning down and massacres. A special organization emerged to carry out the genocide.²³

Polarisation Stage: The leadership style of a state leader shows significantly on either a people's motivation to appreciate or opposite. Before 1994, under the leadership of Juvenile Habyarimana in Rwanda, the media was the most dominant tool that was responsible for spreading hate propaganda; the same is true with the Armenian case where the state had controlled the media and induced hatred among the community people.

Preparation stage: It was taken place earlier phase in both cases though the Armenian case was not that well planned.

Extermination Stage: At this stage, international intervention can easily stop a genocide. Unlike Rwanda's UNNAMIR intervention under Operation Torquoise - the UN peacekeeping force was a failure because it was compromised. In contrast, the Armenian genocide was a continuous process of destruction, with mass executions of the economic, religious, political, and intellectual elites; deportation; forced assimilation; dispossession; state-induced famine that resulted in the beheading of Armenian society.²⁴

Denial Stage: Both the Armenian and the Rwanda cases are still undergoing the denial stage of the genocide as no parties really want to admit it. This is the final and foremost stage after the killings and massacre stop, and genocide deniers try to cover up any evidence that might be troublesome. However, some are arrested and tried by the International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda (ICTR), while others have fled into exile and have acquired immunity.

However, these stages show that the two events have some causal factors in common.

Findings and Analysis

Both the Armenian and the Rwandan genocides were committed using different methods and forms of murder. Notwithstanding, the Armenian genocide took place in the early 20th century while genocide in Rwanda was in the very last decade of the same century, but there was a no less terrible picture in terms of atrocities and murders. In the Armenian genocide, there was massive use of cold steel, hatred, intolerance, interest-based killings by general people. In terms of genocide planning and implementation, in contrast to the Armenian genocide in Rwanda, everything happened comparatively fast and was less organized.²⁵ Furthermore, there was no clear program in terms of the organization; the country's authorities, unlike the government of the Ottoman Empire, used the press to propagandize open assassinations. On the contrary, in the case of the Ottoman Empire, the Young Turk leaders set themselves the task of acting in secret. Moreover, special organizations were set up to carry out both genocides that were directly subordinate to the ruling parties, including the Teshkilata Mahussen in the Armenian genocide and the Interahavmen in the case of Rwanda. Furthermore, the country's army, police, the civilian or ordinary population were involved in the implementation of the two genocides. Likewise, one of the methods of implementation was the massive use of cold weapons, spills, and rape.²⁶

²³ Dadrian, V. (2004) Patterns of twentieth-century genocides: the Armenian, Jewish, and Rwandan cases, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:4, 487-522.

²⁴ Shaw, M. (2011), "From Comparative to International Genocide Studies: The International Production of Genocide in 20th Century Europe," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 4, 645-668.

²⁵ Haperen, M., Kiernan, B. and Zwaan, T. (2012), *The Holocaust and Other Genocides: An Introduction*, Amsterdam, p. 45-70.

²⁶ Miller, E., D. & Touryan, L. (2004), The Armenian and Rwandan genocides: some preliminary reflections on two oral history projects with survivors, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:1, 135-140.

Nonetheless, In the case of the Armenian genocide at the hands of the Ottoman Turks and the genocide Against the Tutsi at the hands of the Hutu in Rwanda, every time, the mass atrocities were characterized from the start in ethnic forms. Meanwhile, the explicit goal was to eliminate the Armenians and the Tutsi as a people.²⁷

However, there are a number of resemblances and differences found between the two genocides deriving from the emerging aftermaths.

Mechanisms and Methods for both genocides: In the planning of both genocides, the mechanisms and the method by which the mass extermination of the target group should be carried out play a vital role.

In the Armenian genocide, the main mechanism for the implementation was the Teshkilat Mahsusen consisted of two parts, namely military as well as civil, and that was directly led by the leaders of the Ittihad ve Terak party. While the special organization comprised of gangs, criminals released from prisons and Kurds, the main tasks of the Teshkilat Mahsuse were to arm the Armenians, to organize through the detachments, to carry out the extermination of the deportees, to supervise the activities of the state authorities, to coordinate the organization of the genocide.²⁸ In the meantime, Ittihad ve Terak party was also set up special envoys to organize massacres. Following this, Chechen detachments carried out massacres of Armenians, looting of the Armenian population, and kidnapping. When the Armenians were allegedly transported to safer places, the Chechen groups appeared and destroyed them. Apart from these, there was also the participation of the Turkish army, especially in Van Province. Similarly, the police were under the direct control of the perpetrators of the genocide. In addition, while an atmosphere of general hatred was created between the two nations, the ordinary Muslim people were also involved in the genocide.²⁹ The Kurds and Circassians had the most participation in the mass killings. While the military took over the destruction orders, the civilian function was to organize the deportations of the population. A number of shootings, conscription, mass deportations, forcible conversion to Islam, the transfer of children from one group to another were also common. When groups of arrested and deported Armenians arrived at the deportation camps, the military allowed Kurds and Circassians to attack the Armenians with batons, hammers, axes, and tools.³⁰ There was also mass burning, hanging, drowning in wells, closing caves, and so on. While the women were first raped by the gendarmerie officers and then killed, they also killed the children by smashing their heads on the rocks, using poisonous gas, drowning in water, and so on.

Likewise, the special organization named 'Interhavmen' played a big role in Rwanda to carry out the Tutsi genocide. It was a Hutu military organization and the youth wing of the Rwandan ruling party. It undertook the compilation of lists of Tutsis, its distribution and carried out the destruction. Apart from these, this group also owned the country's radio station that served as a propagandist by spreading ethnocentric, xenophobic statements along with injecting fear in the Hutu people that Tutsis would surely put an end to the Hutus. Like the Armenian genocide, the engagement of other law enforcement agencies in operations, including the Ministry of War, the police, the military, and the general people, were also present in the Rwandan case.³¹ Similarly, the organizers instructed the Interhavmen and military forces to carry them out. In addition, other individuals such as the church, the business community, universities, schools, hospitals also supported government decisions. However, the killing began across the country with the participation of the Presidential Guard, patrol detachments, reconnaissance battalions, and the

²⁷ Lepsius, Y. (2003), Secret Bulletin of the Massacres of the Armenian People, p. 24.

²⁸ Hapere, M., Kiernan, B. and Zwaan, T. (2012), The Holocaust and Other Genocides: An Introduction, Amsterdam, p. 45-70.

²⁹ Derderian, K. (2005), Common Fate, Different Experience: Gender-Specific Aspects of the Armenian Genocide, 1915–1917, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, V19 N1, p. 1.

³⁰ Matosyan, T. (2005), The Armenian Genocide and Comparative Experience of the Jewish Holocaust, p. 106.

³¹ Mayersen, D. (2016), On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined, Berghahn Books.

military. Arming people with machete knives, sexual violence, and rape, publishing hate speeches in the press, inciting Hutu to murder them was common in the case as the previous one. Mostly, women suffered a lot even after their family members were killed in front of them, their houses burned down, and after being raped, they were allowed to live to die of grief.

Dynamics of propaganda and incitement: Organized mass murders are hardly initiated without the requisite earlier agitation and vilification of the targeted population, and the same thing happened to both cases. Whereas the Rwandan case offers remarkable evidence of this exercise, the perpetrator leadership disposed of over three mediums, including state-run radio Rwanda, privately owned RTLM, the monthly magazine, and press.³² Nonetheless, the scope of agitation was not limited to the media only; rather, professional groups, teachers, religious leaders were successfully induced anti-Tutsi ideas. Similarly, in the Armenian case, the authority used media and other mediums to create fear and gain public support. Authority presented them as a threat to the common people and encouraged them to join in the movement.³³ Thereby, these techniques of propaganda, agitation, incitement were meant to create the ground for the genocidal operations.

Violence against women or sexual violence: While it is regarded that the violence, rapes, birth productivity prevention implemented against women are genocide, it is an integral part of the widespread and systematic attacks against a civilian community with the aim of destroying this community. In the case of the Armenian genocide, women faced an immense number of sexual violence, including rape and sexual slavery, along with forcibly birth prevention. Most notably, forcibly Islamization of Armenian women took place where it is estimated that almost 200,000 women were Islamized and merged with Kurdish, Turkish, and Arabic families.³⁴ For saving their own life as well as children's lives, women had to adopt Islam against their will. Likewise, in the Rwandan case, Tutsi women were also subjected to rape and sexual violence. Meanwhile, the mass rapes were carried out by the militia and members of the Hutu civilian population, the Rwandan presidential guard, and the military. It was carried out with the goal of the destruction of the Tutsi ethnic group. It is estimated that 250,000 women were raped, which produced up to 20,000 babies.³⁵

External Factors: Particularly after the successful 1990 Tutsi invasion of Rwanda, the danger increased with the fear that Tutsi might recapture power in Rwanda through their military incursions, and therefore France started to provide huge military help to the Rwandan government, such as the training of the Rwandan army. It is argued that there was a personal tie with the then France president Mitterand and Rwandan president Habyalimana, and that strengthened Rwanda's military position. While it is believed that the France military aid to Rwanda somehow helped make the genocide possible, a Rwandan government report claimed in 2008 that the French had helped in planning the genocide and participated in massacres. Similarly, in many aspects, the role of external actors in the Rwandan genocide bears comparison to a similar significance incidental to the Armenian genocide. In comparison, the Ittihadist's Young Turk received help from the Germans, their wartime allies.³⁶ This German support was also brought to bear upon a decision to organize the escape from Turkey at the very end of the war of the seven principal authors of the Armenian genocide, whereas their escape was masterminded by German

³² Miller, E., D. & Touryan, L. (2004), The Armenian and Rwandan genocides: some preliminary reflections on two oral history projects with survivors, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:1, 135-140.

³³ Kevorkian, R. (2011), *The Armenian Genocide, a complete history*, NY, 2011, p. 220-221.

³⁴ Derderian, K. (2005), *Common Fate, Different Experience: Gender-Specific Aspects of the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1917*, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, V19 N1, p. 1.

³⁵ Miller, E., D. & Touryan, L. (2004), The Armenian and Rwandan genocides: some preliminary reflections on two oral history projects with survivors, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:1, 135-140.

³⁶ Kevorkian, R. (2011), *The Armenian Genocide, a complete history*, NY, 2011, p. 220-221.

naval units and enabled them to escape retributive justice also. So, in both cases, external factors played a vital role.³⁷

Economic motivation: In both cases, the victims had to be degraded, vilified, and disenfranchised. However, at the time of the genocide, 86% of the Rwandans lived below the poverty line where many youths were unemployed; a prolonged drought exacerbated the overall economy. Almost similar was the Armenian situation where poverty-stricken Turks and Kurds; hence the mass murder meant the sudden acquisition of land, cattle, real estate, money, and so on. Thereby, the perpetrators rushed to pillage and robbery in the atmosphere of the festival.³⁸ However, by such means, many of them improved their socio-economic conditions, and thus, participation in genocide served as a vehicle for upward mobility.

International Response: In both cases, the outside world was well aware of what was happening. In Armenia, though the 'Young Turk' government-imposed restrictions on reporting and photographing but there were a number of foreigners, including American diplomats, missionaries, and German army officers, who were well informed about the event. Similarly, in the case of Rwanda, French and Belgium troops combined to evacuate all foreign nationals from the capital city within forty-eight hours of the massacres taking place. Moreover, within minutes of the UN troops abandoning their base in a school that had also become a shelter for several thousand Tutsis, the militia and presidential guard stormed and began massacring those present. Even the US ambassador David Rawson stayed in Kigale for a few days. So, plenty of information was available for the international community during the genocide taking place.³⁹

But the fact is, in both cases, little or nothing was done by the international community to stop the massacre. For Armenia, Great Britain, America, France could have forced the Turkish government to make restitution to the Armenian people for their immense losses, but nothing was done. On the other hand, in the Rwandan case, the international paralysis occurred despite the 'United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide' being present there.

Differences in the origin of the hostile relations: The legacy of European colonialism impacted upon the conflictual relations of the Hutu and Tutsi, particularly with respect to the formation of political attributes and orientations as well as socio-economic developments. In this case, colonial processes of creation of division played a vital role and served as an intervening variable. Thus, it tended to deteriorate into policies of manipulating the tensions that were aggravating Hutu Tutsi relations. On the contrary, this factor of colonial involvement was totally absent in the Armenian case.

Furthermore, the Hutu revolution that occurred between 1959 to 1962 was led to the institutionalization of the Hutu Tutsi conflict, and thus, the revolution was a byproduct of the further massacre. Nonetheless, a striking feature of the Rwandan case is the series of massacres and pogroms that continued for some three decades from 1964 to 1994. Hence, the cyclical character of the atrocities created the requisite dynamics for the phenomenon of role reversals and interchangeable roles as Tutsi got opportunities during the colonial role, and Hutu got the power after the independence. Hence, there was a pervasive fear among the Hutu in the 1990s that Tutsi might recapture power in Rwanda, and hatred emerged with that fear, the massacre took place.⁴⁰ On the other hand, this is a condition that would be inappropriate for the Armenian case.

³⁷ Dadrian, N., V. (1994), "Documentation of the Armenian Genocide in German and Austrian Sources," *Widening Circle of Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*, ed. Israel Charny, Vol 3, p. 104-107.

³⁸ Dadrian, V. (2004) *Patterns of twentieth-century genocides: the Armenian, Jewish, and Rwandan cases*, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:4, 487-522.

³⁹ Hapere, M., Kiernan, B. and Zwaan, T. (2012), *The Holocaust and Other Genocides: An Introduction*, Amsterdam, p. 97-120.

⁴⁰ Magnarella, J., P. (2005), *The Background and Causes of the Genocide in Rwanda*, *Journal of International Criminal Justice*.

Differences in calculations: It is argued that racism or colorism was somehow responsible for the Rwandan genocide, and at the same time, this was due to the fact that there was a division of a nation through people's skin color, how light the skin, how long the peoples noses and based on other physical attributes. Likewise, this made the Hutus believe that the Tutsi people were more superior, and therefore after years of oppression, the Hutus wanted to inflict pain on the Tutsi, who were considered as their tormentors. In contrast, the Armenian genocide was the result of socio-cultural differences as the Ottoman Empire and the Armenians had different cultural beliefs, mostly religious differences. The Ottomans considered the Armenians infidels towards Islam and inferior towards them.⁴¹

Differences in fighting Capability: On the contrary, unlike the Ottoman Armenians who had no recognized military capacity, the Tutsis had an army that was somehow capable of fighting and defeating the military of the Hutu-dominated Rwandan government and his MRND party.⁴² Whereas the Tutsi army or the RPF launched an invasion demanding political power of Rwanda in 1990 from Uganda, Hutus viewed themselves as potential victims, and that would likely to the slaughter of around a million Tutsi living in Rwanda.⁴³

The difference between the two survivor groups: While the majority of survivors in the Armenian genocide were deported out of Turkey, the Tutsi survivors live on a daily basis in the midst of those who perpetrated the genocide.⁴⁴ Thus, Tutsi Survivors are living marginal lives due to their parents being killed, slaughtered, and stolen of their wealth and property, their homes destroyed; hence most have not been recovered and continue to struggle to survive in their daily life. On the other hand, the Armenian survivors had made successful economic adjustments in the diaspora, although they also suffered a lot.⁴⁵

Conclusion

The last century has been shaken by an epidemic of atrocities committed in various parts of the world. Although each act against humanity is equally alarming and appalling, each incident has not been portrayed by the same token; rather, some acts of genocide have received far more historical consideration than others. To conclude, in both cases of Armenian and Rwandan genocides that were dealt with in this study, both the Ottoman Empire Sultans and Hutu governments manipulated various ethnic groups against one another for the sake of sustaining their power over all of them throughout the time. Furthermore, the two cases historical backgrounds laid a genocide ideology by favoring one ethnic community and considering the other group of the community as a foe of revolution, unfavorable to established paths towards development, consequently meant to be eliminated in order to save the country from what they saw as internal enemies.

⁴¹ Burleson, S., J. and Giordano, A. (2016), "Spatiality of the Stages of Genocide: The Armenian Case," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*: Vol. 10: Iss. 3: 39-58.

⁴² Dawoodi, DJ. (2018), *The Aftermath of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust: A Comparative Study*. Social Crime no 1 6: 183.

⁴³ Shaw, M. (2011), "From Comparative to International Genocide Studies: The International Production of Genocide in 20th Century Europe," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 4, 645-668.

⁴⁴ Miller, E., D. & Touryan, L. (2004), *The Armenian and Rwandan genocides: some preliminary reflections on two oral history projects with survivors*, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:1, 135-140.

⁴⁵ Ibid

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